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/527 cont./
thongs, sometimes the man slips, lets go his hold, and falls into the surging sea below" /cited in English/.

presses them, they decide to do it (250) and admonish each other

250. Similar descriptions of this type of cormorant hunting are given by Bridges (in VSA:XIII, 214; 1866 and in MM:XIII, 156; 1879), Dabbene (b):186, Hyades (h):39 and (q):359, Outes (g):53, and others.

to be particularly cautious.

In this connection the hunter must count on another difficulty which sometimes puts him in the greatest danger. His wife must row him to those high rock walls or low flat stones on which he plans to hunt the cormorant. He lands during the day and keeps hidden until evening when the birds are expected to come back to their nests. Meanwhile the wife in the canoe has gone back to a safe inlet on another island, but has left her husband some meat and drinking water. Woe unto him if bad weather suddenly sets in, and he is detained longer than expected at this place. "Many days may pass before his wife can venture to cross over the islet to take him off. The solitary man then husbands to the utmost his limited supply of fresh water. The rising billows nearly overflow the islet, sometimes quite so, and threaten to wash him away, and the spray keeps him thoroughly wet. I have heard of very distressing cases, when the men have had to drink shag's blood and to eat them raw, and when they have nearly perished with the cold" /cited in English/. This description by Bridges (MM:XIII, 158;1879), drawn from reality, makes us realize the many dangers and sacrifices that the Yamana encounter on their hunt for cormorants. His accurate knowledge of the region and his sure estimate of the weather, however, stand him in good stead, hence he never recklessly plunges into danger (see Hyades [q]:360).

[261 271]

These birds even spend the night on the stronger trees that grow near the water's edge and are easy to reach. Such trees

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263 [271] on the meat. Finally, without conscious intent, the Indians take the ocean spray, even larger drops, into their mouths when it strikes their faces while they work in the canoe or on the beach. These individually very insignificant particles of salt I should estimate as a not too small daily total in view of the high salt content of sea water (332). The Yamana need a somewhat larger

332. We look in vain for any reference to this among those Europeans who have only expressed their astonishment at the absence of salt. All the missionaries and many travelers report that the food is not specially salted, for example, Outes (g):52, Hyades (q):339, and others. The latter (d):306 also maintains: "Sea salt as a condiment is unknown and would not be appreciated" /translated from French/; it is much sharper than cooking salt, as is well known.

amount of salt than the Selk'nam because they eat considerable amounts of light fat daily and because the meat juice of all the animals they consume contains far less salt than guanaco meat. This amount of salt is supplied to their bodies unconsciously, so to speak, but very definitely, and for this reason they do not need to sprinkle additional salt on their roast.

It is not surprising that the Fuegians are also unacquainted with any kind of spices and stimulants. Without reservation Hyades [270] (d):306 emphasizes: "They do not use any intoxicating, narcotic, or stimulating substance" /translated from French/ and adds in another place (f):564 that they do not have "condiments." This designation includes pepper and nutmeg, cloves and caraway, 262 vinegar, and similar things. Liquid fat, however, from seals and whales, if one wishes to include that here, is very often taken in small amounts (333), but it serves the natives as actual

333. Hyades (f):564 confirms that "seal oil is very much enjoyed and that the natives drink it with pleasure in small amounts, before or after the meal" /translated from French/.

/572 cont./

733 Lawrence and Adelheid, refuse all alcoholic beverages on principle. The former has often and emphatically lamented the devastation that alcohol still inflicts on her compatriots. She has repeatedly said that so much alcohol, which formerly was entirely unknown, has very much weakened the memory of the members of her tribe for their old traditions and beautiful legends. She is scarcely wrong in this.

276 177 Most men have, of course, become accustomed to tobacco. They do not care so much for cigarettes, but prefer pressed tobacco which they smoke in pipes. They think this is more pleasurable, and it also lasts longer. The pipe is particularly convenient on the canoe trip. They are not capable of really enjoying the taste of tobacco; it is only the playful occupation with the pipe that amuses them. Not unimportant in this connection is their desire to be like Europeans. Self-respect and the need for recognition would make it impossible for a Yamana to refuse a cigarette offered by a European. Smoking never develops into a passion among our Indians; if they do not have tobacco, there is nothing in their behavior to indicate that they are missing something. Among primitive peoples tobacco does not have anywhere near the harmful effects on their health that alcohol has.

• 271 312 Since not a single alcoholic beverage is available to the Fuegians, they are dependent solely on natural water. It comes to them from many rivulets, springs, and brooks. No matter how cold it is, it does not harm them; some people prefer it, the colder, the better. They lay stress on pure water. If they have no other choice but to get water from swampy, boggy places, they put a layer of beard moss (Usnea barbata) or small leaved shrubs (Nothofagus antarctica) on top and press it down [illegible]. This causes the filtered water to seep slowly through to the surface, the roiled mud soon settles, and the water is potable. In other swampy spots they pull up a small shrub or the thick fleshy stalk of a swamp plant, and the water quickly gathers in this hole; in a few minutes it becomes clear (338).

338. Snow (a):1, 344 observed: "On one occasion, being thirsty, and seeing no fresh water near, I indicated my desire;

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271 312 whereupon one of the men went to a tree and with a spear struck at the roots, and speedily procured some" /cited in English/.

271 The people not only cannot do without drinking water for any length of time, but quite the contrary, they drink often and always a great deal. They do this so conspicuously that Fitz-Roy (a):185 noticed "the Fuegians drink only pure water, but often and in large quantities" /cited in English/ (339). The extraordi-

339. What Despard (b):680 asserts, namely, "they drink great quantities of water" /cited in English/, Hyades (f):565 repeats in more detail: "They drink often and much; I have seen them take in considerable quantities of water at one draught" /translated from French/. Wieghardt:36, Martial:194, and others express themselves in a similar vein.

nary quantities of fat which they eat arouse the /573/ desire for frequent drinking. Even "in the course of the meal they went to drink at a nearby spring, or carried the water when they had watertight utensils" /translated from French/ (Martial:194). They also drink when they are not thirsty.

271 516 445 This is chiefly the explanation for the fact that every family purposely erects its hut near a brook or rivulet, in order to avoid constant running to the spring. Usually each one goes by himself to the little body of water at which he quenches his thirst. Depending on local conditions, he lies down flat on the ground and puts his mouth to the water, sucking it in, or he crouches somewhat sideways close to the edge and scoops up the water in the cup of his hand or with /Fig. 69 appears here/ a large Mytilus shell, or finally, he squats quite close to the small stream, bends his head down low, and sucks the water into his mouth through a hollow bone, *embalim* (Fig. 69). This tube is nothing more than a long bird bone, the two ends of which are filed against a rough stone until the spongy bone fibers disappear. What is left is still 20 to 35 centimeters long. Almost always the long leg bone of a

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271 516 445 [881] cormorant is chosen for it. Some people wear this small tube in front on a braided sinew cord tied around the neck, just as the sponsor puts it on the uswala /candidate/ at the close of the initiation ceremonies. Most persons find it more convenient to suck water through this small tube because they squat comfortably in doing so and take in only a thin stream of the sometimes ice-cold water (340).

340. Hahn (c):337 illustrated a man in a squat position drinking through a tube at a brook. This drawing had the caption:

Fig. 69. The Use of the Sucking Tube.

"Choungoungounsis drinking at a stream with a pipe of bone" /translated from French/ (Fig. 69). Wieghardt:37 designates this article as "a kind of tube ready-made from a bone" /translated from Spanish/, and Martial: 194 as "a kind of small pipe made from the foot bone of a cormorant /translated from French/. In place of this bone tube they also, as Hyades (q):341 maintains, use "hollow rush stalks or those of other plants" /translated from French/, but that is only in exceptional cases.

271 445 /574/ I could not find out anything about special rules for the everyday use of this little tube, and there did not seem to be

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271 445 881 any. The candidates in the ceremony, however, must use the tube each time, and toward the end of their probation they are instructed to go on using it. The little tube probably did not originate solely as a precaution against the cold water. It is also used in the hut when someone has brought in water in the large Voluta shell or in a leather pouch. This pouch is exactly like the one used by the Selk'nam (Vol. I, Figs. 71 and 72) and here as well as there is made out of the stiff leather of an old male seal. Other water dippers or containers that hold the contents as safely as does the Voluta shell are not used by the Yamana.

261 731 The Yamana, especially those in the border regions, are never at any time of the year safe from the threatening specter of hunger. It would be entirely incorrect to interpret the references of a few travelers to mean that misery overtakes the entire tribe more or less constantly (341). Famine actually cannot

341. The assertion of Outes (g):56 that "during the winter when the coasts become inaccessible, many victims of hunger perish" /translated from Spanish/ is inaccurate.

appear there as a general phenomenon; lack of food overtakes individual families only temporarily, that is, for a few days. The most common cause is such stormy weather with an angry sea for several days that a family cannot leave the place where they are in order to look for food elsewhere. When their few provisions are used up -- and that happens very quickly, since there is never a thought of stocking up -- trouble begins if all the sources on the spot are exhausted and calamitous natural forces put a stop to further travel. This fate will overtake a family, for example, who has fled to an island or been detained on a small island where birds do not alight and where the coast falls off abruptly. In most places on the Cape Horn Archipelago they find at least medium-sized and small mussels which are temporarily laid bare by low tide, even in bad weather. In some places they can make shift with fungi. "When bad weather lasts a long time, fishing becomes impossible and resources, always very small, are quickly exhausted; then they eat fungi which are found abundantly on beech trees" /translated from French/ (Martial:193).

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862 disgusting to the baby, and after that it stays away from its mother's breast. If they should not happen to have whale blubber, they use that of sea lion which has the same effect. After that the mother supervises what the child eats for only a short time. Bridges (a):183 says: "The food first given to children is muscles /sic/, fish, and berries" /cited in English/ (153), but for a long time the chief food

153. Hyades (q):195 likewise confirms that "the Fuegian women soon commence to add to their diet, without weaning them completely, solid food, such as baked mussels, fish, etc." /translated from French/.

is the roasted fatty tissue of the loggerhead duck, *ilakuš*. Of course, the infant sometimes stuffs indigestible things into its mouth if it is not closely watched, but even if it swallows them, there are hardly ever serious consequences to be feared.

• 271 The young mother does not give the newborn child water from
853 a /721/ brook to drink, but that taken from lagoons and ponds. The former is considerably colder and could, it seems to me, often cause colic. The Yamana give a different reason. Nelly told me that, at her husband Fred's suggestion, she gave her first-born daughter water from a brook near Punta Remolino. Her father who had more experience than Fred saw this. He told her, "Water from
[153] a brook causes worms in the belly of the child; all kinds of little animals swim around in such water. You must get water from a lagoon, that is better for the child and will keep him well!" With her other children Nelly followed this advice. She concluded with words that showed her displeasure toward her husband Fred: "Yes, indeed, the Christians [Europeans] have much less experience in such matters than my countrymen!"

231 In Hahn (a):806 we read: "The Fuegians, according to Mr. Bridges, often suckle young dogs" /translated from French/. With regard to this I learned that very rarely and only playfully a woman will put a young puppy that is sick or has lost its mother to her breast to keep it alive.

827 I was unable to learn whether our Yamana are acquainted with
833 the physiological connection between conception and nursing in the same woman. Actually, the two spouses unite sexually on

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STh 244 that everybody in the vicinity knows about it. A person who behaves too greedily and hastily at meals, who audibly drinks and smacks, is unquestionably regarded as a glutton and sacrifices a great deal of standing. When one is hungry, he cleverly feigns otherwise and fills his stomach without making his hosts conscious-ly aware of it. Very early Despard (b):680 observed this attractive trait: "They hold gluttony in great abhorrence. In their language the word for gentleman is 'small-eater'" /cited in English/. In this respect they are exactly like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 474).

244 When the Fuegians are by themselves, however, or in the small circle of most intimate friends, their great voracity occasionally breaks all bounds, and the sight is sometimes repulsive even to their own countrymen (p. 331). As is well known, they grasp the usually very hot piece of meat /1012/ with their hands, put it to their mouths, and tugging hard, they tear off thick pieces with their teeth. The abundant blubber and meat juice ooze out of both corners of their mouths, and thick drops of it fall on their torsos and thighs. They rub it on their faces and bodies and lick their sticky fingers with their tongues. The scene around a stranded whale is almost disgusting, for everyone discards the customary cautious self-control and stuffs himself with such large amounts that his taut belly stands out prominently. In drinking, which ● 271 was formerly limited to water, no one need restrain himself. The Yamana drink large quantities daily.

STh 274 Ordinary visits are quiet and without ceremony. The visitor STh enters the hut, looks around, and sits down near the fire. Considerable time goes by before the owner of the hut addresses him, and then there is another interval before the visitor consents to converse or to make known his reason for coming. He leaves again just as wordlessly. Certain forms of greeting, however, are STh customary among them (432): when they are separating to go long 201

432. Therefore I reject what Spegazzini (a):166 says, for example, and what Despard (b):698 maintained in the following words: "There are no gestures of affection amongst them; they neither kiss, rub noses, nor shake hands. Nevertheless, the affection exists, and is strong" /cited in English/. The former